

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MOSCOW 13173

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: CH,UR, YO, JA, MASS, PARM
SUBJECT: NEW UPSWING IN SOVIET ANTI-CHINESE POLEMICS COINCIDES
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WITH VANCE, TITO VISIT AND CCP CONCLAVES

REF: MOSCOW 9681

SUMMARY: THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS HAS UNLEASHED A NEW
ROUND OF ATTACKS ON THE PRC WHICH COINCIDE WITH THE
CONCLUSION OF THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND THE

SECRETARY'S AND PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO CHINA. THIS NEW HIGH POINT IN ANTI-PRC COMMENTARY (THE FIRST SINCE MAY-JUNE, 1977) AND STATEMENTS BY SOVIET MFA OFFICIALS AND ACADEMICIANS REINFORCE THE CONCLUSION THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS HAVE NOT IMPROVED AS A RESULT OF MAO'S DEPARTURE A YEAR AGO AND ARE NOT LIKELY TO. AN AUTHORITATIVE SEVEN THOUSAND WORD KOMMUNIST ARTICLE, THE CENTERPIECE OF THE PRESENT UPSWING IN ANTI-CHINESE PROPAGANDA, (A) REITERATES SOVIET SENSITIVITIES OVER POSSIBLE WESTERN ATTEMPS TO USE ARMS AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS TO CHINA AS LEVERAGE AGAINST THE USSR, (B) REFLECTS SOVIET CONCERNS OVER CHINESE EFFORTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND (C) REVIEWS CHINESE PROGRESS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONRY. THE RITUALISTIC REPLAY OF BREZHNEV'S STATEMENTS AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS ON SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS WITH CHINA THAT APPEARS AT THE END OF THE ARTICLE CONTRASTS WITH PRIVATE VIEWS OF SOVIET EXPERTS ON CHINA WHO SEE LITTLE PROSPECTS FOR ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN IMPROVING STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS HAS PUBLISHED THREE MAJOR ANTI-PRC SALVOS OVER THE PAST TWELVE DAYS: A PRAVDA AUGUST 27 ARTICLE ON THE CCP'S ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS; AN AUTHORITATIVE UNSIGNED ANTI-CHINESE BLAST IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S THEORETICAL JOURNAL KOMMUNIST, CONFIDENTIAL

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"CHINA AFTER MAO TSE-TUNG"; AND PART ONE OF AN ARTICLE BY CHINESE SPECIALIST G. APALIN ENTITLED "ON THE ROAD TO MILITARISM" PRINTED IN THE SEPT. 7 EDITION OF LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. THESE ARTICLES CONSTITUTE THE FIRST SIGNIFICANT REPLAYS OF THE ANTI-PRC POLEMICS SINCE THE PRAVDA ARTICLE BY ALEXANDROV IN MAY AND THE BORISOV KOMMUNIST PIECE IN JUNE (REFTEL). THEY COINCIDE WITH THE THIRD PLENUM AND THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS IN PEKING AND SECRETARY VANCE'S AND PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO CHINA. A SOVIET EXPERT ON CHINA ON THE KOMMUNIST STAFF CLAIMED PRIVATELY THAT THE LATEST KOMMUNIST ATTACK WAS PUBLISHED AS A "RESULT" OF THE THIRD PLENUM. THE SAME OFFICIAL DENIED THAT THE ARTICLE HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE VANCE VISIT ALTHOUGH THE PUBLICATION OF THE TASS SUMMARY IN ENGLISH AS WELL AS RUSSIAN DURING THE SECRETARY'S STAY IN PEKING INDICATE OTHERWISE.

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2. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE THREE ARTICLES FURTHER
REINFORCE THE CONCLUSION THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS
HAVE NOT IMPROVED AS A RESULT OF MAO'S DEPARTURE,
NOR ARE THEY LIKELY TO. THEY REPEAT THE SAME LITANY
OF SOVIET CHARGES AGAINST CHINA: MAOISM IS AN IDEOLOGY
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HOSTILE TO COMMUNISM; PEKING IS ATTEMPTING TO
SURROUND THE SOVIET UNION WITH ENEMIES AND TO PROVOKE
A WORLD WAR; THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS MILITARIZING

ITS POPULATION AND STRENGTHENING ITS NUCLEAR POTENTIAL IN ORDER TO CONFRONT THE SOVIET UNION AND EVENTUALLY TO DOMINATE THE WORLD. THE CONTENT AND TONE OF THE THREE ARTICLES ARE REFLECTED WITH LITTLE DEVIATION BY OFFICIALS IN MFA AND SOVIET ACADEMICS DEALING WITH CHINESE AFFAIRS. IN AN AUGUST 26 CONVERSATION, MFA CHINA DESK OFFICER DEFINED CHINESE STATEMENTS ON THE SOVIET UNION AT THE RECENT ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AS "PROVOCATIVE".

3. OF THE THREE RECENT ANTI-PRC PUBLICATIONS, THE UNSIGNED KOMMUNIST ARTICLE IS CLEARLY THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE AND SIGNIFICANT. FOLLOWING ARE THE MOST NOTEWORTHY ASPECTS OF THE ARTICLE:

(A) THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE REFLECTS A SOVIET INTEREST TO REITERATE YET AGAIN THE STRONG SOVIET SENSITIVITIES OVER POSSIBLE ATTEMPTS TO USE ARMS SALES AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS TO CHINA AS LEVERAGE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THE ARTICLE SPECIFICALLY:

--CHARGES THAT "RECENTLY CHINESE LEADERS HAVE BEEN PERSISTENTLY PRESSING FOR MILITARY AID FROM THE WEST IN THE FORM OF DELIVERIES OF MODERN EQUIPMENT AND MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, AND ALSO FOR COOPERATION IN DEVELOPING MILITARY BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY";

--HOLDS THAT CHINESE CONVERSATIONS IN PEKING WITH WESTERN (SCHLESSINGER, THATCHER AND STRAUS ARE NAMED) AND JAPANESE VISITORS, AND ALSO "CONVERSATIONS OF PEKING DIPLOMATS IN WESTERN EUROPE", ARE AIMED AT ACQUIRING MILITARY AID TO OPPOSE "THE MILITARY THREAT FROM THE USSR".

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(B) A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF THE ARTICLE APPEARS TO REFLECT SOVIET CONCERN OVER CHINESE ATTEMPTS TO MAKE INROADS INTO EASTERN EUROPE AND MAY BE MOST SPECIFICALLY AIMED AT PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO CHINA. THE ARTICLE ACCUSES CHINA OF WORKING "TO UNDERMINE SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY"; CRITICIZES CHINESE ATTACKS ON "ORGANS OF COOPERATION OF SOCIALIST STATES SUCH AS CEMA AND THE WARSAW PACT"; WARNS THAT "ANY COMPROMISE" WITH THE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY OF MAOISM "CAN TURN INTO A FORM OF OPPORTUNISM"; AND CHARGES THAT "SOWING ANIMOSITY AND ALIENATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS THE MAIN STRATEGY IN THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY OF THE MAOISTS".

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(C) THE SCOPE OF THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE IS CONSIDERABLY
WIDER AND THE TONE MARKEDLY SHARPER THAN ANY ANTI-PRC
SOVIET COMMENTARY SINCE THE DEATH OF MAO. UNLIKE THE
ALEXANDROV AND BORISOV PIECES, THE 7,000 WORD ARTICLE
DEVOTES CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO A CRITICAL EXAMINA-
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TION OF THE FAILURES OF "MAOIST" INTERNAL POLICIES,
WHILE OTHER SECTIONS COVER CHINESE EXTERNAL POLICIES
AND MAOISM AS "AN IDEOLOGY HOSTILE TO MARXISM-LENINISM".

A CHINESE DIPLOMAT HERE TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE COMPREHENSIVENESS AND SHARP TONE OF THE ARTICLE WAS PART OF RECENT ANTI-CHINESE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, BUT THAT SIGNIFICANCE OF KOMMUNIST AS SOURCE WAS THE CC CPSU IMPRIMATUR WHICH MEANS THAT PROPAGANDISTS ALL OVER THE USSR WILL DRAW ON THE VOLUMINOUS MATERIAL IN THE ARTICLE AND REPEAT IT IN CONTENT AND TONE. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL CLOSELY MONITOR THE EXTENT TO WHICH EASTERN EUROPEAN PROPAGANDA ORGANS PICK UP THE AUTHORITATIVE KOMMUNIST COMMENTS.

(D) THE ARTICLE'S EMPHASIS ON CHINESE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL, ALTHOUGH AN OLD THEME, IS NONETHELESS NOTEWORTHY. IT CLAIMS THAT: "CHINESE MILITARY POTENTIAL IS GROWING RAPIDLY. MAIN ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON IMPROVING NUCLEAR ROCKETS. ALREADY IN THE FIRST MONTHS AFTER MAO'S DEATH THERE WERE THREE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. DURING THIS PAST YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN FOUR NUCLEAR EXPERIMENTS. IN 1976 DIRECT MILITARY EXPENDITURES COMPRISED MORE THAN 40 PERCENT OF THE BUDGET, ABOUT HALF OF THEM DEVOTED TO NUCLEAR ROCKETRY." THE KOMMUNIST OFFICIAL QUOTED IN PARA 1 ECHOED THE ARTICLE'S CONCERN ON CHINESE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL BY STATING THAT THE SOVIET UNION SEES PRESENT DAY CHINA AS A "REAL THREAT" TO THEUSSR. HE TERMED THE RECENT CHINESE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION "A VERY SOPHISTICATED ONE", ADDING THAT "IT IS VERY DANGEROUS TO US FOR THE CHINESE TO SAY WE ARE TARGET NUMBER ONE".

4. THE AUTHORIS OF THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE, AND THE AUGUST 27 PRAVDA ARTICLE AS WELL, FOLLOW THEIR ANTI-
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PRC DIATRIBES WITH THE TRADITIONAL CONCLUSION
RECALLING BREZHNEV'S 25TH CONGRESS STATEMENT OF
SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS
WITH CHINA. OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET
OFFICIALS ON PROSPECTIVE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS INDICATE THAT THEY ENTERTAIN LITTLE OR NO HOPE OF ANY
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS
PENDING, IN THEIR VIEW, THE CLEAR ASSUMPTION OF
POWER BY ONE OF THE CONTENDING POLITICAL FACTIONS
IN PEKING.
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Message Attributes

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